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Of the three domesticated animals of the Polynesians, only fowls were brought to Easter Island or else they alone survived to the time of European discovery. In 1722, there were neither pigs nor dogs, though Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 131) tells us that the natives who boarded Roggeveen's ship "seemed to be acquainted with pigs." His statement may be inaccurate, but it is not unlikely that the natives did remember pigs. Pigs are mentioned in Mangarevan traditions and, according to history, the last sow was killed and eaten there in the seventeenth century. When pigs were reintroduced to Easter Island, they were called *oru*, probably an onomatopoeic name. Dogs are termed *paihenga*, and the usual Polynesian name for dog (*kuri*) applies to cats.

The small, long-legged, indigenous fowls seem to have been less numerous before European contact than afterwards. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) and La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 76) stress their scarcity. The great value given to this bird in the social and economic life of the islanders upholds this impression in spite of G. Forster's statement (83, p. 157) to the contrary. Fowls must have multiplied in the second half of the last century for in 1882 they are said to have been extremely numerous over the entire island in a wild or semi-wild state. Geiseler (87, p. 37) estimates that there were 10,000 chickens at the time of his visit.

Today there are no wild fowls, but chickens are abundant in Hanga-roa and the natives are prodigal of eggs. When the ancient culture was functioning, chickens were the usual gifts to people who must be honored; they were raised for feasts and appear as a favorite motif in art. The feathers were used in making circlets, eyeshades, and hats. The economic value that chickens once had for the natives is manifest in the care they took of them. Near the sites of most ancient villages or settlements, hen-houses are found. Often they are the only testimony of the former existence of a village. One officer under Gonzalez says that "the islanders breed fowls in little ruins scraped out in the ground and thatched over" (90, p. 122).

The only indigenous mammal was the Polynesian rat which has since been exterminated by rats from the ships. In former days the natives ate rats; Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) guesses that they did, and his supposition is borne out by references to the practice in legends. Present natives remember seeing old men eat rats. However, the following tale shows that certain persons were prejudiced against rats and did not consider them a delicacy:

> The girl Kava-komari was brought up and grew. She lived in seclusion in her house, where she daily painted her face red and annointed herself with sugar-cane juice. One year she went to a *koro* (feast). All the men admired her. She lived in the *koro* house. Her father took her a bundle of rats and sweet potatoes to accompany the rats (*inaki*). She opened the bundle and saw the rats. The other girls laughed at her. She asked, "Why do you laugh about the rats?" The other girls answered, "We laugh because you are about to eat the rats." The girl said, "Rats are not bad food. Rats are good. We are like calabashes with the mouth below. There below is something ugly with us. Rats are clean. When you defecate it always falls down."

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764 Most of the tombs we opened contained only one skeleton but collective burial was sometimes practiced. In a long narrow vault of a rectangular ahu under the hill of Vai-tara-kai-ua we procured the bones of several individuals. Between La Pérouse and Ovahe is an ahu with vaults perpendicular to the sea which are filled with an incredible number of bones. Geiseler (87, p. 30) writes: "A burial is chosen by a family and kept by it for a long time. In order to make more room when other people die, all the bones of the dead are removed with the exception of the skulls." Thomson (215, p. 503) found in a vault of ahu Hanahakou (?), between Ahu-te-peu and ahu Ohau, many skulls, "and the surroundings excluded the idea of any other portions of the bodies having been interred with them." I found no vaults reserved exclusively for skulls.

Often the remains of the dead were scattered on or near the ahu. This custom explains the observation of Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 294): "I, as well as some others, saw a human skeleton lying in one of these platforms, just covered with stones." La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 79) "met with several pyramids of stone arranged nearly like balls in a park of artillery, and perceived some human bones in the neighborhood of the pyramids and statues, of which the latter had always their backs directed toward the sea." The decay of many ahus, even at the time of Captain Cook, might explain the presence of bones on the surface.

764 784 688 The removal of the dead to the ahu probably ended the mourning period. While the body was exposed near the ahu, the surrounding region was under tapu; fishing was prohibited along the near-by shore and cooking was restricted. In principle, fire could not be lighted in the area under the interdiction, and smoke which was especially feared had to be hidden or smothered with grass. The symbol of the tapu was a pile of stones (*pipi hereko*) with a bleached stone on the top (p. 327). The penalty for breaking the tapu was death inflicted with a club. The spot marked by the tapu could not be approached in the daylight (?). (See 194, p. 232.)

764 262 The funeral for a man was always the occasion for big banquets, concerning which I collected confusing evidence.

An earth oven called *umu ki te takapu o koro* (for the funeral of the father) was prepared by a brother or cousin of the deceased in behalf of the eldest son of the dead. Fowls were given to the brothers or cousins of the dead and were tied together in groups of ten before the ahu. On the day of death the eldest son and the family of the deceased made an earth oven. The widow also made a special earth oven with the help of her parents. The food was presented to the eldest son, who gave it to his father's brother or sister. The son did not eat anything and he delivered his own earth oven to his mother or his mother's family. Neither the son nor the daughter was allowed to partake of the first food. But on the same day, the brother of the dead, his father, or his mother, or some other relative prepared a special earth oven for the children of the dead who had not been allowed to eat the first food. The brothers-in-law could also make the earth oven called *takapu*. If there were no parents to make the *takapu*, the sons made an earth oven for themselves. The parents of a dead child could not eat the first *umu*. In Tepano's time the Easter Islanders still buried people in the ahu, but they did not let the bodies rot on the scaffolds.

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764 177 Twenty years ago Routledge (194, p. 149) assisted in the interment of Angata, Pakomio's mother, who was put into a coffin and lowered into a grave in the Catholic cemetery. Curiously enough her prie-dieu was buried with her. Three English cheers added the only odd touch to the whole ceremony which was performed according to strictest Catholic custom. On the same day, a great feast of pigs was held, probably as a funeral banquet.

765 From the English Company I obtained an old photograph showing a group of girls, dressed in white, singing for the dead. My informant, Victoria Rapahango, told me later that the picture was taken at a feast held six months after the death of one of her children. The long period between the death and the feast suggests a survival of some old custom.

769 787 775 Offerings of food were made for the dead, but we do not know whether this was a general custom for all dead or only for those who asked for food through the medium of dreams or in the form of ghosts. Our only source of information is the following passage in a letter of Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 120):

> As to the souls of the bad men, they stay near the corpses enduring hunger and thirst in proportion to their wickedness. From there they sometimes go to beg food from their relatives and friends who must give it if they wish to be rid of the importunity of the dead. I had many opportunities to fight against this superstition, especially among women who had been converted. Very often, as a consequence of a nightmare, they were induced to put food on the grave of a relative they believed they had seen in a dream.

765 262 The mourning of relatives lasts from one to two years (87, p. 30) or even three years, according to Routledge (194, p. 171). For only sons the mourning might have continued for three or four years. Relatives—we do not know exactly who—had to keep food tapus and were not allowed to eat sweet potatoes (87, p. 30). When the mourning was over a great feast was celebrated and the "pappa was finished" (194, p. 171).

Comparison with other Polynesian Funeral Rites

171 764 The wooden platforms on which the corpses were exposed resemble the Mangarevan biers described and figured by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 170). They are also similar to the Marquesan biers resting on four posts (142, p. 57). The stone platforms behind some Easter Island ahus have their equivalents in the Marquesas. On Hivaoa the platform for the dead was made of stream boulders, well fitted together and encasing rough stones, rubble, and earth (104, p. 117).

SUICIDE

762 152 Suicide is reported to have been very frequent before Christianity was introduced. For the "slightest provocation" natives jumped from a cliff (190, p. 464). Very likely the psychological background for these suicides was the same as in other parts of Polynesia, especially Mangareva, where it seems to

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for him, and named him Tu-ki-haka-he-vari (Curled-up-as-a-chicken-in-an-egg). He grew up and stayed with her at Hakarava. One day he asked the old woman, "Where is my father?" She replied, "There, where there is a dark cloud." Then the boy called to the people, "Make a litter to carry me to Tuu." This the people did and they accompanied him to Pare where he remained. Some died on the way, others died after they had returned to their homes, because of the mana of Tu-ki-haka-he-vari.

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Here, as in the preceding tale, the king's mana is so strong that it becomes deadly to those who carry him. Moreover, the king is carried on a litter; probably to prevent any contact between the ground and the mana embodied in him. This is the only hint of such a custom on Easter Island, but the attitude fits the Polynesian pattern of culture.

[482]

TAPUS

The sacredness of the *ariki-mau* obliged both him and the people of lesser rank to subject themselves to a series of restrictions in their mutual relations. No one could touch any part of the king's body without running the risk of falling dead or of suffering severe pain. There is no doubt that the head of the king was the most sacred part of his person—so sacred that he was obliged to let his "hair grow without ever allowing the *mataa* (obsidian knife) to pass through it" (190, p. 360). The head of every man was more or less tapu (p. 103), but probably only the king's head was so sacred that the hair on it could not be cut. When the missionaries wanted to cut the hair of the little Gregorio, the last king of the island, "the child opposed it firmly and yielded only through force or fear." The anger was so general that "the hairdresser was on the point of being stoned when he achieved his work" (190, p. 360).

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The hands of the king were also tapu. The only activities permitted to him were making fishing lines and nets and fishing in canoes. The extremely contagious nature of his mana extended to all his belongings which were consequently tapu. "Their huts, their enclosure, their food, their entire persons and everything they used were tapu for other persons of both sexes" (190, p. 360).

It was not permissible to see the king or his son eat or sleep, and none but his servants who were noblemen (*ariki*) were allowed to enter his house. There were two classes of servants, the *tuura* and the *haka-paapa*. The first provided for the maintenance of the king, tilling the soil, gathering seashells, and fishing for him; and the latter attended the king in the capacity of valets and served his meals. A fragment of legend mentions only one *tuura* and one *hakapaapa*, but the informant who dictated the legend told me on another occasion that there were several of each class of servants, though he was not sure of the number. I am unable to tell what truth there is in Palmer's statement (168, p. 282) that next to the king there was a "prime minister, who was obliged to be a celibate."

643 644

Several foods were tapu to the king. He could never eat rats and it is

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643 quite possible that the same tapu applied to the other members of the Miru
262 tribe (194, p. 242). The *mahore, kotea, pahika, teteme,* and *kahi* (tuna) were
784 the only fish allowed the king. The tapu on tuna fishing during the winter months (p. 173) did not apply to the king and a few noblemen. During the tapu period expert fishermen went to catch tuna in the king's boat which was called *vaka-vaero* and was decorated with cock feathers. All fish caught from the *vaka-vaero* were presented to the king, who kept them for his own use or, more often, distributed them among the important old men (*tangata-honui*). The first *kahi* taken after the lifting of the tapu in summer were taken to the king, who tasted a bit and gave the rest to the *tangata-honui*. The food for the king was strictly tapu and only the *haka-paapa* could touch it.

DRESS

643 The dress of the king was similar to that of any wealthy man. He wore
291 a beautiful tapa cloak stained yellow (*nua*) with turmeric and "feather hats
386 of various descriptions." From his neck, both back and front, hung six
301 wooden balls (*tahonga*) and six small wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) with
826 small shell tassels (*rei-pipipipi*) dangling from them. The only distinguishing physical characteristic of the sons of kings was an alleged growth of down under the eyes.

RESIDENCE

644 Nga-ara, the last king who died with full rank, had his headquarters at
764 Anakena, which is the most pleasant part of the island. This was the beach
533 chosen by the discoverers of the island for their king, Hotu-matua. There Hotu-matua landed and died. From that time on the bones of the kings and of the members of the Honga lineage were buried in the ahus which still surround the cove. Near them are to be seen the foundations of a school of chanters, in front of which people gathered to hear the recitations and chants. Modern natives are fond of this cove where hills dominate a long beach which slopes gently to the sea and where swimming is pleasant (pl. 1, *B*).

173 According to a tradition which I was unable to check, each new king went
644 to live at Ahu-a-kapu, near Tahai on the west coast. Later, when he had yielded his authority to his son, he went to ahu Tahai and then to Anakena where he spent his last years. Nga-ara was the only king who died in Tahai, and his remains were buried in the large ahu there. The young princes were raised in a village called Papa-o-pea, near ahu Ohau, not far from Ahu-te-peu. The literature on Easter Island contains only one allusion to the kings' changes of residence. However, Routledge (194, p. 279) has recorded a tradition in which Hotu-matua quarreled with his eldest son, Tuu-ma-heke, to whom he ceded his position and then retired to the top of the Rano-kao, where he lived on the southern side of the crater, opposite Orongo. Traditions

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CULTIVATED PLANTS

Hotu-matua is said to have brought to Easter Island all the plants that the natives formerly cultivated, some of which they still raise on a small scale. There is little doubt that most of these plants were growing on the island when the first discoverers landed there. Some additional varieties may have been introduced later, when active intercourse between Tahiti and Easter Island became common. On the other hand, many varieties and forms of plants have died out and some species, the arrowroot (*pia*) for example, have entirely disappeared. In 1780 La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 78) made the first attempt to introduce new plants on the island. The gardener of his expedition sowed cabbage, carrot, beet, corn, and gourd seeds together with orange, citron, and cotton. Nothing is known as to the fate of these plants or the natives' attitude toward them. The missionaries, especially Roussel, and later the colonist Salmon, greatly increased the resources of the island by introducing useful plants and trees. Figs and mulberry trees, grapes, peaches, *miro-tahiti* (*Melia azedarach*), and acacias are associated in the natives' memory with the name of Father Roussel who first brought them to the island. The English managers residing at Mataveri have done much to acquaint the natives with new kinds of food.

Sweet Potato

The sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) is known as *kumara*. Its importance to Easter Islanders is symbolically expressed in the following sentence in which a woman of the island epitomizes the monotony of life in that isolated land: "Here we begin at birth by eating sweet potatoes, then we go on eating sweet potatoes, and finally we die." Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 126), the first European to live a long time with the Easter Islanders, says: "They cook the eternal sweet potatoes. It is the everyday dish, the invariable staple food of the Kanaka, big and small." Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 130) correctly states that sweet potatoes take the place of bread on Easter Island. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) asserts that the sweet potatoes he ate on the island were the best he ever tasted, and Thomson (215, p. 456) reiterates the statement. According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 573) they were "gold, yellow and as sweet as carrots and extremely nourishing."

Sweet potatoes thrive in well-drained soil and porosity is one of the chief characteristics of Easter Island ground. Nowadays ground for the cultivation of sweet potatoes is tilled with the plow, but the old method of sticking (*hao*) the stems with buds (*tumu hua*) into small earth mounds (*puku*) is still used. I was told that when the plant is high the mound around it is raised (*puke*) in order to prevent attacks of insects and rot. The term *kau* applies to the stems of the potato which root to form the new plant; *roria* applies to the

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244 high stem when it extends and begins to produce tubers. Old tubers, no longer edible, are called *heiparu*. Natives often gather (*tua*) sweet potatoes from old, abandoned fields.

244 192 The appearance of the plant, especially of its leaves, distinguishes for the natives the forms to which they give different names. Knoche (123, p. 134) collected in 1912 more than 25 names for kinds of sweet potato, and he believes that formerly the natives had a more extensive classification. My more recent list of names is little shorter than his. Taste plays an insignificant part in the classifications, whereas external and trifling characteristics are important. Often the distinguishing traits disappear entirely when the leaves are dry. Sweet potato names obtained either from informants or from literature are:

Kumara ure-omo, kumara-uriuri (black), *kumara-uka-tue, chiva* (white), *aropiro* (yellow), *renga-moe-tahi-teatea, renga-moe-tahi-uriuri, okeoke* (slightly red), *paka-taero* (violet or black), *tipa-tai-paka* (white), *apuka* (white), *pita* (white), *mari-mamu* (like white of egg), *mari-kia-kia* (long form), *tuitui-ko-tiro, rau-miro* (black), *epunua* (black), *makuto, kava-tangueti* (white), *kava-aka-iroiro* (white), *ure-vai, apuka-eu* (white), *mine* (white), *tua-tea* (white), *puku*. All these names refer to shape and color of the tubers, not to the leaves. The most prized sweet potato, *tua-tea*, is believed to have disappeared from the island with the passing of the kings.

271 Several travelers have stated that the natives ate raw sweet potatoes to quench their thirst. Thomson (215, p. 456) expressly declares that "they ate them both raw and cooked." With their abundant supply of rain water, collected from the zinc roofs, modern natives never need to wet their mouths with the scanty juice of the *kumara*.

Taro

244 262 Taro (*Colocasia antiquorum* var. *esculenta*) is much less important as food than sweet potatoes. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 587) says that during his trip across the island he passed "through a number of plantations of bananas, potatoes and yams, and one of the eddoes." Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) mentions the "tara or eddy root" after the sweet potatoes and yams. It is possible that the white roots mentioned by Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 130) were taro. Gonzalez (190, p. 101) most certainly alludes to the taro when he writes of "yucca".

244 Before centralizing in Hanga-roa, the Easter Islanders cultivated taro in enclosures where some tubers still grow. Today the most valued ground for taro cultivation is that covered with stones. Near Hanga-roa I saw taro plants growing in such a depth of small volcanic stones that not the slightest trace of earth could be seen. The layer of stones retains some humidity and protects the young plants from the direct rays of the sun. The natives say that 244 192 the stones cause the taro to "suffer" (*hakamamae*), thereby making it grow better. Like the sweet potato, taro has many forms or types, and their classifi-

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cation is based upon minor characteristics of the plants. I collected the following 24 names of supposed taro varieties: 244 192

Taro-vaihi, vaihi-iti, ketu-anga-mea, hore-hore-tapatea, tua-koiro, pia nguhu-haha-tea, ngeti-tea-tea, ngaatu, kara-kara, tea-tea, koro-marnu, mango, taro-ketu-turi, kape Rapanui, taro-ngeti-uriuri. The *hiva taro* (foreign taro) is subdivided into *taro-uriuri* and *taro-teatea.* The commonest form is the *kara-kara.*

Arum, *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*) is mentioned in the creation chant collected by Thomson (p. 321): "Acridness copulating with Bad Taste produced the Kape." The name of this species, which is akin to taro, was given to me in the list of taro names. It was probably introduced on the island in early time and is still cultivated. 244

Yam

Yams, *uhi* (*Dioscorea* sp.), have ceased to be cultivated, though some still grow wild on the inner side of the crater of *Rano-kao.* The natives seem to have held them in higher esteem in olden times, for all of the travelers of the eighteenth century allude to them as one of the principal staple foods of the natives. Today the islanders think yams tasteless, and during my whole stay I was offered them only once. Martinez (151, p. 37) lists the following 41 yam names: [262]

Pua-rau-oho-uri, pua-rau-oho-tea, pua-titveka, pua-aru-aru, pua-rono, pua-vahi, eihe, ihe-matao-raha, ihe-mutu-po, nahe, nahe-mataa-toka, nahe-rehe-rehe, ravi, ravi-uri, ravi-tea, ravi-a-kurakura, tea-ho-popo, tea-makuna, tea-nuhi, veri-aka-tau, moko-haha-tea, veri-pupuru, rua-papa, tuke ipuakere, tuke taro kura, tupere-uri, tupere-tea, moko-iku-keu, papake-tea, apuku eu, kunekune, pa, erere, kukuru toua, mine, papake-uri, papake-kahu-kahu, anaukaho, ravi, ravei mangamanga, ravei pako, ekoka rua ravei. 244 192

Yams were planted in carefully made mounds of earth. Overgrown yams which become hard are called *kane.* Tubers eaten by worms are said to be *momo.*

Ti

The ti (*Cordyline fruticosa*) is mentioned for the first time by Palmer (171, p. 170) in 1868. He writes that the plant "is pretty plentiful, but is put to no other use than for wattling of the grass houses and as javeline shafts." The ti has become extremely rare. I saw only a few plants, growing wild near La Pérouse Bay; there are, or were, specimens in Rano-kao. Charred ti leaves supplied the black powder (*ngarahu*) which was used for tattooing. 244 [262] [386 304]

Sugar Cane

Sugar cane, *toa (Saccharum officinarum),* is first referred to by Roggeveen (186, p. 13), who lists it among the products brought to him in great quantities. The sugar-cane stalks which G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 571) noticed near a house "were about nine or ten feet high, even in this parched country, and 249

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249 contained a very sweet juice which the inhabitants presented to us very frequently, and particularly whenever we asked for something to drink." [277] Only fifty years ago the natives quenched their thirst during their journeys with sugar cane. Even more recently uncultivated sugar cane has been found on several parts of the island. The juice was used as an ointment [302] or as an adhesive upon which pigments were stuck in face painting, and the [342] leaves served as hut coverings. Sugar cane was consumed in great quantities during the feasts. The name for a fragment of sugar cane planted in the [824] soil is *pupura*.

Bananas

245 All early travelers (186, p. 13; 90, p. 101; 53, vol. 1, p. 288) mention [439] bananas, *maika* (*Musa sapientum*), as products offered by the islanders for trade. They were extensively cultivated, for some Spaniards under Gonzalez ● 262] (90, p. 123) visited a plantation near Vinapu "which stretched about a quarter of a league in extent, and was about half that distance in breadth." Lisiansky (143, p. 86) noticed that "every house was planted round with bananas and sugar cane."

The trees in these plantations were disposed "in the order called quincunx" (130, vol. 2, p. 259) and "planted in straight lines by the cord" (130, vol. 1, p. 76). According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 571), who went through some plantations near the present Hanga-roa, "the bananas were all growing in holes one foot deep, which were supposed to be contrived for collecting rain, and preserving it for a longer time about the plant." A century later, Thomson (215, p. 456) states that "bananas are grown in holes a foot or more deep and with sloping sides, designed to catch and hold the rain water as long as possible about the roots of the plant." Whenever it was possible natural cavities were utilized, in which decayed branches and leaves made a thick layer of fertile humus. The richest banana plantations of today are located on the west coast near the leper house and the ancient village of Ana-o-hoka, between ahu Akapu and Ahu-te-peu. There, in some places the lava crust which covered enormous subterranean cavities has sunk, forming holes about 10 to 15 feet deep. Trees planted there in former days thrived on a rich, damp soil, protected from the sea winds.

245 At present the natives count ten varieties of bananas, some of which have 192 recently come from Tahiti: *maika-pukapuka*, *maika-korotea*, *maika-hihi*, *maika-pia*, *maika-naho-a*, *maika-pahu* (today extinct), *maika-puru-ino*, *maika-rio*, *maika-perora*, *maika-hiva* (a foreign variety), and *maika-tamoa* (introduced from Samoa). The fruit is still an important staple food of the Easter Islanders. In the past it must have been even more important. The shoots of banana used for planting were called *huri*.

624 Dried banana leaves (*kaka*) were once used as house coverings and the

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248 are generally not very extensive and their number and size seem to corroborate Cook's statement (53, vol. 1, p. 291) that the natives had difficulty in getting raw material for their clothes. La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 73) was impressed by the scarcity of the *mahute*: "These trees are very rare, having been destroyed by the droughts. Such as have survived are only three feet high, and these they have been obliged to encompass with walls to secure them from the winds: it is remarkable that the height of these trees never exceeded that of the walls by which they are sheltered."

G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 568) describes a mulberry tree plantation: "Being arrived at the shrubbery which we had in view, we found it was nothing but a small plantation of paper mulberry, of which here, as well as at Teheitee, they make their cloth. Its stems were from two to four feet high, and planted in rows, among very large rocks, where the rain had washed a little soil together."

The expedition sent by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 285) to explore the south coast "saw in several places the Otaheitian cloth plant; but it was poor and weak, and not above two and a half feet high at most."

Today the *mahute* is found only in the interior of the crater of Rano-kao, where, at about the time of La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 81), "the marsh was surrounded by finest plantations of bananas and mulberry trees." They still grow well on the northern slope among big stones.

Turmeric

249 Turmeric, *pua* (*Curcuma longa*), grows sparsely in the bottom of the crater of Rano-kao. The Spaniards who went round the island in 1770 saw [302 in the plantations "a root which they chew and daub their body and limbs 386] all over with; it is good for yielding a fine yellow dye" (90, p. 123). The natives esteemed both the dye and the perfume of the plant, for the native name means fragrance.

Arrowroot

244 Arrowroot, *pia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*), was described to me by the islanders. According to them, it resembled *pua*, with the sole exception that the *pia* root [262 was white. The rhizomes of *pua* and *pia* are quite unlike. In ancient times 386] it was eaten after it had been baked either upon or in the oven. Arrowroot yielded a dye which was made from the starch by the same method as that used for the *pua*. Knoche (123, p. 120) and Brown (27, p. 39) both identify the plant as the wild arrowroot.

The word *pia* appears in an old chant collected by Thomson (215, p. 520), in which are described genealogically the origins of plants and other elements of nature. If Thomson's text were entirely reliable, it would prove beyond any doubt that arrowroot was known to Easter Islanders before contact with

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white men. However, no early visitor mentions the arrowroot and it is not cultivated today. It may have been replaced by manioc.

Coconut

In the second part of the nineteenth century, some coconut trees or simply some coconuts (*niu, makoi*) were brought to the island either by Easter Islanders returning from Tahiti or by missionaries. This explains why Palmer (171, p. 170) saw large coconut bowls, although he was unable to find any coconut trees. It is probably to that attempt at coconut cultivation that Tepano alluded when he told me that in his mother's time there were some coconut trees at Poike, near Maunga Teatea. They are purported to have been destroyed during the war between the Miru and the Tupa-hotu. Tepano affirms having seen ancient boxes made from coconuts. The two trees now growing on the island were planted by Salmon.

Foreign Plants

Plants of European or American origin, now cultivated on Easter Island, are peas (*pipi*), beans (*ariko*), melons (*melone*), watermelons (*santia*), onions (*onioni*), manioc (*manioko*), maize (*tarake*), pepper (*oporo*), and pineapple (*anana*). Fig trees (*pika*) and mulberries (*monamona*) are abundant but the natives care little for their fruits.

The island soil is particularly favorable for beans and though the islanders complain that potatoes do not thrive, those of the English resident are the best I have tasted anywhere. The Williamson and Balfour Company is trying to develop the cultivation of maize by the natives, who have prospects of selling it at good prices, but few islanders have taken advantage of the opportunity.

Comparison with Cultivated Plants on other Polynesian Islands

The plants introduced and cultivated on Easter Island in early days are all Polynesian species. Due to the cold climate there are no breadfruit trees on the island and the two coconut trees do not bear fruit. In this respect Easter Island resembles Rapa where, because of the cold, there are no breadfruits, coconuts, and probably no pandanus.

Easter Island has no kava though kava was consumed on Mangareva and in the Marquesas whence the Easter Islanders probably came. Perhaps the Easter Island climate is unfavorable. The name kava is used on Easter Island in the composite form *kavakava atua*, designating a fern. Kava is also absent on Rapa though the climate there is suitable for its growth.

In the Marquesas as on Easter Island sugar cane and paper mulberry were cultivated in enclosures (104, p. 67).

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Ngaoho

Ngaoho (*Caesalpinia bonduc*) is almost extinct. According to Knoche (123, p. 123) it was used as a medicine. Its fibers were resorted to for tying together pieces of wood in canoes or fastening poles of hut frames. Fuentes (208, vol. 2, p. 72) says that the natives listed *ngaoho* as a plant introduced by their ancestors, but both Skottsberg and my informants consider it to be indigenous.

Moss

Para (*Campylopus turficola*) is a green moss which covers the lakes of the craters. It is mentioned by Routledge as a *Sphagnum*. Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, p. 501) says explicitly that he has not found *Sphagnum* in the lake, but in its place a species of *Campylopus* which forms a peat. The peat was gathered, washed and dried to be used in the preservation of water. The moss was also used to stop the chinks of canoes.

Seaweed

Rollin, one of the officers under La Pérouse (130, vol. 2, p. 240), noticed that some of the Easter Islanders were eating "a species of marine *fucus*, which they gather on the shore." The names of the edible seaweed are *miritonu*, *miritonu mama*, *auke*, and *ringaringa-pea*. Nowadays only children enjoy eating seaweed.

Fire

Although the use of matches became general on the island after 1880, the ancient method of making fire by rubbing is still remembered. From what I could learn, *hau* wood (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) was the best for making fire, but a harder wood might have been used (215, p. 471). A rubbing stick preserved in the Anthropological Museum, Berkeley (1142), is made of a light material, probably *hau*. It is 185 mm. long and the tapering end is slightly curved upward. The operator, sitting on the floor, held the stick with both hands and, pressing hard, rubbed it along a longitudinal groove in another piece of *hau* or paper mulberry. The hearth was probably held in place with the foot or by an assistant. Friction ignited some fibers placed at the end of the groove as tinder. The whole operation took between five and ten minutes. *Hau* wood is soft and its particles smolder and glow easily. Therefore, it is very unlikely that the natives kept permanent fires, attended by special watchers, in order to spare themselves the trouble of producing fire by the usual method (56).

During our trip round the island the natives who accompanied us always found sufficient fuel for their fires. They gathered small twigs and dry branches or cut branches of the *miro-tahiti* which grows on several points of

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out further preparation, the animal was put into the oven (81, vol. 38, p. 131). Chickens were cooked by putting hot stones inside the body; they were never plucked beforehand (90, p. 46).

According to a tradition noted by Knoche (123, p. 182), for which I found no evidence, fish were boiled in the natural holes so commonly found on rocks. Raw fish is not eaten by modern natives, but a tradition points out that they used to do so a few generations ago.

Water, for washing new-born babies or sick people, is heated by throwing (*tunu maea vera*) glowing stones into a big calabash (*kaha*) full of water.

Sweet potatoes were generally baked in earth ovens. My informant told me that by means of hot stones they were sometimes boiled in big calabashes. Today sweet potatoes are prepared in many ways, but they are still greatly appreciated when cooked underground.

Taro is cooked in the earth oven, fried, or boiled. Taro leaves (*raupa taro*), which are also cooked in the earth oven, constitute one of the most delicious foods of Easter Island.

Ti roots are no longer eaten but in former times they were cooked (86, p. 25);

> . . . The natives put them into a hole, wrapped with leaves and covered them with grass and hot stones. When the stones were getting cold, they were replaced by others, and so on during two or three days. The recompense of all that work is the facility to keep that fruit and its delicious flavor.

Tepano described the preparation of ti in almost the same terms, but he assured me that during the three to five days the food remained in the earth it was necessary to light a fire above the oven. Because of the present abundance of sugar, the ti is no longer a delicacy.

Bananas were ripened quickly for festivals by warming them in a long ditch. A fire was lighted in the ditch, similar to that kindled in ordinary oven cooking. A layer of fresh earth was spread to extinguish the flames, the walls of the ditch were lined with fresh banana leaves (*rito*) and the bananas deposited in the ditch were covered with earth. Three or four days later the fruits were ripe.

In former times arrowroot was eaten after it had been baked either upon or in the earth oven. It is no longer grown on the island.

Little salt, if any, was used to flavor the food, and even today the natives do without it. It has been noted that they do not need salt, since they drink brackish water and absorb air impregnated with sea salt.

Seabirds' eggs were once consumed in great quantities and the natives are still very fond of them. The few islanders that accompanied us on the expedition to Motu-nui ate more than a hundred eggs within half an hour.

Nowadays cooking is generally Chilean and maize is an important food in the diet.

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in most Maori specimens. The ridging at the poll on some Easter Island clubs is the usual conventionalized representation of hair, characteristic also of wooden images. Hence the similarity to the transverse grooves on the poll of the Maori *patu* is purely accidental.

FISHING

It is impossible to get even an approximate idea of the importance of fishing in pre-missionary times. Fishhooks are found in great abundance in caves, carved fish are common in petroglyphs, and fishing episodes are numerous in folklore. But Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 126) states that fish had an insignificant place in the native diet and was considered a great delicacy. At the present time fishermen are few and go out only occasionally. Charli Teao is the only native I know for whom fishing has a special attraction and who derives benefits from this activity. While the *Mercator* was anchored in Hanga-roa Bay he supplied us with tuna which he traded for bread. Deep-sea fishing cannot be maintained on a profitable basis for there are only two boats on the island. Probably the lack of wood for building boats prevented extensive fishing in ancient times.

Numerous causes have contributed to the decline of fishing. The natives have had an ample supply of meat since the introduction of cattle and sheep. Moreover they have free access to only a small part of the coast. If they wish to fish on the north or south coasts, where the coves and low shore are particularly favorable, they must obtain written permission from the Williamson and Balfour Company, and many natives are too shy to ask for it. Easter Island has no protecting coral reef, and in winter months the sea is too rough for the canoes to go far offshore. The fishing season begins at the end of October. The fishing near the island is not good. Ever since Captain Cook's time men have complained of the scarcity of fish.

Fish are said to be most abundant between the islets of Motu-kaokao and Motu-nui. A stone image called Pou-haka-nononga of the Ahu-anakoiroroa was a landmark used by fishermen to find an area in the sea called Haka-no-nonga where tuna were plentiful. Other places in the deep sea which were traditionally favorable for fishing (*kona-ika-nui*) had proper names. Tuna were caught at points off the coast called Hatehate and Mitiake; the best area for the *ature* fish was at Haka-kainga and for *mahore* fish at Tuaniu. Shore fishing was mostly a feminine occupation, and according to legends was once practiced on a wide scale.

Fishermen were called *rava-ika*; expert fishermen were *maori* or *rava-ika-maa* (fishermen-with-knowledge). Canoe fishing was indulged in even by the king (p. 132). Geiseler (87, p. 37) noticed that next to weapons, fishing implements were the most valued artifacts.

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has to pass its head through the noose. The noose is closed by pulling the string which the fisherman holds in the same hand as the baited stick. 226

One such snare (fig. 14, *b*) in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, (VI.4880) is much more elaborate than the present-day specimen. The bait stick is provided at its thicker end with a notched stone, the function of which is not clear; the rope is first tied around the thinner end, then runs along the stick, and is caught in the lashing and passes through a hole. The free end of the rope is used to tie the bait to the stick. 227

Eel snares of the same type as those of Easter Island were used in Rapa (212). In the Marquesas the snare consisted of one stick, which was held in one hand while the string was held in the other (104, p. 177). The eel snare is widespread in the Tuamotus and probably in the Society Islands, though it is not mentioned by Handy (103). In Samoa the eel snare is practically identical to that of Easter Island (34, p. 421). 227 171

Fishing by Hand

Octopus

Octopuses (*heke-puka*, octopus with short legs; *heke-korotea*, octopus with long legs) are caught with bare hands (*hakapari*) along the shore by moonlight. The fisherman bites the head of the octopus to kill it. Tradition states that formerly the natives built *hare heke*, houses where the octopuses sought shelter. They were driven into these shelters by magic. 226

Crayfish

Crayfish (*ura, ura raperape*) were formerly caught in a bag net, but that method has been discarded; now they are captured by hand either by day or by night. The fisherman dives (*ruku*) where he knows there are recesses or small caves. He seizes the crayfish by the body (*ipu*). At night crayfish are caught by the light of torches (*tuu ahi*) made with a rag soaked in sheep fat and fixed to the end of a stick. Formerly the natives used torches made of banana bark impregnated with fish fat. Fishing with torches is called *iko puhi*. Crayfish hunters always go by twos. The man holding the torch puts his foot on the crayfish, attracted by the light, and his companion picks it up and puts it into a bag. The most favorable time for catching crayfish is when the wind is new (*tokerau hoou*), that is, when the wind turns and pushes the crayfish toward the shore. At Puhinga on the south coast crayfish are especially abundant.

Reef Fishing

Reef fishing (*hahari*) and the gathering of shellfish were important activities of women in olden days. The women used small spears called *ruruki* for some kinds of fish or to remove shells from the rocks. Fish caught thus by women were *paroko, patuki, tuamingo, rae-mea*, and *mahaki*. Crabs were not despised then as they are today. The natives distinguished between the kinds [227] [262]

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362 513 An old man showed Routledge (194, p. 216) how they slept in the huts: "This was parallel to the long axis of the house, the head being towards the door; the old people were in the center in couples and the younger ones in the ends."

Size of Houses

342 The houses must have varied considerably in size. Bernizet (130, vol. 2, pp. 256-257), after describing one of 300 feet, says: "The small cabins are of the ordinary form; the most of them so very small as not without difficulty to afford room enough for six persons."

The largest house on Easter Island of which dimensions have been recorded is that figured in La Pérouse's atlas (130, vol. 2, p. 256) and reproduced here (fig. 16). This enormous hut, which could easily shelter 200 individuals, was probably a community house (*hare-nui*). Judging by their remains, ancient houses were generally 10 to 15 meters long and 1.5 to 2 meters broad, giving shelter to about 30 persons. The largest house foundation measured is 40 meters long and 4 meters wide. These figures correspond roughly to estimates made by early visitors to the island (186, p. 17; 5, p. 356; 15, vol. 1, p. 55; 146, p. 274).

Disappearance of Ancient Houses

342 177 In 1877 Pinart (178, p. 238) noticed that most of the huts were made of wood from wrecked ships and in the fashion of European cabins. At that time, few reed houses were to be seen in Hanga-roa. This change in the type of house was caused by the wrecking of a ship loaded with timber from Oregon. Under the guidance of a Danish carpenter, the natives built plank houses 25 feet long and 15 feet wide. Most of the buildings received light through very small doors, but some had windows and windowpanes. The roofs were made of planks or covered with banana leaves or long grass. The floors were of earth or covered with straw. In 1886 "several rough bedsteads and chests" were already in use (215, p. 454).

The small grass huts, which survived until 1917 (208, vol. 1, pl. 10), have now disappeared. The Easter Islanders who were deported to Tahiti early in the twentieth century erected huts in the old native style. However, many details of the structure show pronounced Tahitian influences (7, pl. 9). Modern houses on Easter Island are made of planks imported from Chile, and built on short piles to escape the humidity and the annoyance of rats. [352] They are divided into rooms and provided with heterogeneous furniture from Chile. The old thatch roofs have been replaced by corrugated iron. Near the house is generally a little shed where cooking is done, mostly on small metal stoves imported from Chile. Tepano was the only islander to use stones in the construction of his hut, and was one of the few who slept on the floor.

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(*tapu-peera, rahui*). These tapu cairns vary in size, some being as much as 1.5 meters high and others consisting of a few stones piled up. (See 171, p. 174; 87, p. 28.) Now Easter Islanders connect the cairns with funerals, the only reason for a tapu that they clearly remember. That tapus were not associated with death alone is indicated by other customs and fears which have survived. Tapu beliefs are displayed in the precautions surrounding a child's head; in the belief that stomach aches are provoked by sexual intercourse with *ariki* women; and in the sacredness of spots where navel cords have been buried. Certain places on the island—among them the strip in front of the ahu—were considered tapu, and thus dangerous for people who stepped on them. According to Geiseler (87, p. 28) not only the statues and the ahu were tapu but the island of Motu-nui upon which no one was allowed to land except in the months of July, August, and September. Early visitors (90, p. 95; 83, vol. 1, p. 568) observed that the natives were sometimes displeased when they walked over the paved area of the ahu or on the pedestals of the statues, or even when they examined the stones of the monuments. However, the islanders must have thought that the foreigners were not subject to the same tapus as themselves and that they had nothing to fear from the gods, since they did not seriously attempt to keep them away from monuments.

The king (*ariki-mau*) was highly tapu because of his mana, and the bird-man, after being designated by the god Makemake, was considered tapu for a year and lived in seclusion. Several foods were prohibited to the king and other *ariki*, but other foods could be eaten by the common people only after they had been presented to the king (p. 132).

Both the words *rahui* and *tapu-peera* refer to temporary and arbitrary prohibitions laid on a piece of land by a chief or some influential proprietor. This measure prevented trespassing or reserved the produce of the land for the individual or for some special occasion. The sign of the *rahui* was a branch hung near the tapu place or a pile of stones erected on it. All crops were under a royal tapu until the first fruits were offered to the king in a ceremony before the harvest. Roussel (190, pp. 259, 428) writes: "Woe to the man who dared to violate the tapu. He payed for it with his goods and even with his life." Death inflicted by beating with a club was the penalty for such a crime. Routledge (194, p. 232) says that the spot marked by a tapu could not be approached in daylight. The owner of a piece of land on the coast could protect his rights to fish or collect mollusks on the shore along his estate by setting up a *rahui*. "This *rahui* consisted of three piled up stones on land contiguous to the portion of the sea he wanted to reserve for his own use" (190, p. 429).

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Islands of the Bird Cult

The picturesque site of Orongo was chosen because of its position opposite the islands Motu-nui, Motu-iti, and Motu-kaukau. Two of the islets are almost inaccessible, and it is possible to land on Motu-nui only when the sea is calm. Hundreds of thousands of birds make temporary abode on these solitary rocks, some of them coming for the winter and others for the summer. (See list of birds, p. 18.) The *manu-tara* (sooty tern), whose eggs were the principal objects of the *tangata-manu* feast, arrive from August to October. When I visited the island in November, it was covered with birds nesting on rocks and in the high grasses. Frightened by our arrival, they took flight, swirling around our heads in dense clouds. The natives who had accompanied us gathered in one hour more than a hundred eggs which they ate on the spot.

On Motu-nui there are several caves which were occupied by the *hopu* (servants) while they awaited the coming of the *manu-tara* and while they searched for the first eggs.

On the wall of the largest of these caves, which is about 6.5 meters long by 4 meters wide and 2 meters high, there is an incised image of an *ao* (dance paddle) which is 2.4 meters long. With Dr. Lavachery, I discovered another image which figures a *rei-miro* (breastplate) ending in two cocks' heads.

Besides this large cave, the entrance of which is visible, there are other smaller caves with narrow mouths. On the walls of one cave were some incised figures, among them that of a bird now in the Trocadero Museum. From the mouth of the bird protrudes a flame-like design, composed of many lines. This appears to be a conventional representation of the deafening cries of the birds. Another drawing, also taken from this cave and preserved in the Museum du Cinquantenaire at Brussels, shows a man with long ears.

The most spectacular of these caves is entered by a narrow passage descending at a sharp angle. Routledge (194, p. 275) saw five skeletons there, but I noticed only two; they were untouched and lying on a bed of boulders. Over them hung a big red head, carved in the hard mud of the ceiling, more than 500 mm. long and crossed in the lower part by horizontal lines. It resembled the god with big eyes figured in many petroglyphs on the island. Two small heads were seen in the same cave. A double-headed bird, carved in relief, had been partially destroyed by natives or by visitors hunting for curios. Fortunately another bird in the same cave was reproduced by Routledge (194, pl. 17). Neither Routledge nor anyone in our party was able to get information about the unusual presence of skeletons in this cave, which was probably not intended for a burial vault. The ornaments which covered its walls preclude such a possibility. These carvings are coated with red ochre and stand out from a white background which seemed to me to be natural, although Routledge believed it had been painted.

Another of the caves on the islet was believed by Routledge (194, p. 275) to have been transformed into a sepulchre, but the bones must have been thrown out, since I found none there. A statue presented to the British Museum by Routledge is said to have been removed from one of these caves and to have been called Titahanga-o-te-henua. It is purported to have marked the boundary between Tuu and Motu-iti.

Mataveri

The third place closely associated with the ceremonies of the bird cult was Mataveri on the northern slope of Rano-kao, where now stands the house

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Rokunga[17], to his nephew. Tepano was born during the year Utupiro, thus named by a bird-man called Pua-arahoa, who chose the name Utupiro for himself and for the year. Tepano's account confirms Routledge's statement (194, p. 260) as to the nomination of the bird-man which she says "might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson." 792 173

Tangata-manu were buried in a special ahu called Orohie which was not far from the house where the bird-men were secluded. The ahu, like all of this section of Rano-raraku, is in poor condition now. It was (194, p. 264) "a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled and paved." When a *tangata-manu* died, five cocks were tied to each of his feet. People of all the tribes came with cocks, and *tangata-manu* of other years were present at the feast. They stood a little apart, not mingling freely with the other people, and untied the cocks attached to the dead man's feet. Presents of cocks were received by the son of the *tangata-manu*, but he could not eat them. The cocks which had touched the ground of the ahu where his father lay were especially tapu. 766 792

The tapus which surrounded the bird-man extended to the *hopu*. During the year following his discovery of the egg he could either go to Orohie or reside in his own house where he was obliged to live in a corner separated from the other people by a partition. The hand which touched the egg was so sacred that he could not use it in eating. His sacredness was contagious to his wife and his children who were also secluded and were not permitted to join other people. 792 784 778

The bird-man relinquished his retreat after one year, and the new bird-man took his place. He either concealed the old egg in a cranny of Rano-raraku, threw it into the sea, or preserved it to be buried with him. No tapus upon a *tangata-manu* after his seclusion have been recorded. 792 778

According to Routledge (192, p. 349) there was another search for eggs, several weeks after the first quest, entrusted to the *ao* who had settled at Mataveri. They went to Motu-nui to get the young *manu-tara* known as *piu* and to gather many eggs. These were put in baskets, tied to the foreheads of the swimmers, and thus brought to the land. They were taken around the island and, according to one account, as far as Orohie. Routledge (192, p. 349) writes: 796

> It was not until the *piu* had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the eggs, the period of commencement being known as "Toro", and they were then consumed by the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained, were given to the god, to eat them would prove fatal.
>
> Some of the young *manu-tara* were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied around the wing and leg and they were told: "Ka oho ki te hiva." "Go to the world outside;" there was no objection to eating the young birds.

[262]

[17] Rokunga, according to Routledge (192, p. 351), was the name of the last bird-man. The last feast was performed at Orongo in 1866 or 1867. To gain prestige, Tepano has probably applied to himself what he heard about the past. [554]

8: Behrens T-5 (1721-1722) 1908
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609 us a quantity of dressed fowls and roots. One amongst these was an entirely white man, who was wearing white chocks of wood in his ears as large as one's fist, and bore a very devout appearance, so that we took him to be an idol priest. By some misadventure one of the natives who were on board the vessels got shot, and this must have caused a great consternation amongst them, for they all immediately sprang into the water and some swam away towards the shore, but others made off in their skiffs with all possible haste. We then with 150 men, soldiers as well as seamen, proceeded in the name of God ashore: and among them there was present our Admiral himself, by whom I was given command of a section of the party. I was the first who, at the disembarkation, set foot on the island. The inhabitants pressed round us in such crowds that we could scarcely pass along, so that we had to force a way through them; and, because some of them went so far as to lay hold of our arms (weapons), they were fired upon: by which they were direly alarmed, and dispersed, but collected again in swarms, though keeping some ten paces in front of us, believing that they were already out of range of our weapons at that distance.

609 439 ●262 Many of them were shot at this juncture; and among the slain lay the man who had been with us before, at which we were much grieved. In order to obtain possession of the bodies they congregated in great numbers, bringing with them presents of various kinds of fruits and vegetables, in order that we might the more readily surrender to them their slain. The consternation of these people was by no means abated: even their children's children in that place will in times to come be able to recount the story of it. They kept up an uncommon yelling: women as well as children brought palm branches, red and white streamers, and various kinds of fruits, Indian figs, large nuts, sugar-cane, roots, fowls,—alive, boiled, and roast. They even flung themselves at our [201] feet, displayed the streamers in front of us, and prostrated themselves on their knees before us, presenting their palm branches as peace offerings. They also made tender of their womenkind, [548] asking whether we would accompany them into their huts, or had rather take them off to the ships. However, we did them no ill, but made a present to them of a piece of gaily coloured linen print between fifty and sixty ells in length, which they measured fathomwise more than a hundred times over. We also distributed coral baubles, small mirrors, etc., by which they might be assured that we were their friends. After that they brought us more than

8: Behrens T-5 (1721-1722) 1908
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500 live fowls, which were like those of the Vierländen, this time without any boiled or roast ones, together with many roots, some red, some white, a good lot of potatoes which tasted almost like bread, and which are used by these people in the same way; and some hundreds of sugar-canes, great quantities of *pisang*[1], being Indian figs as large as a cucumber a span in length and of proportionate thickness, with a green rind. When one peels this off [the pulp] tastes like figs, or as sweet as honey: there are sometimes as many as a hundred on a single bunch. The leaf is from two to three feet broad and from six to eight feet in length. It is with these that our first parents should have covered themselves in Paradise after their unfortunate Fall, because it is almost the largest and strongest leaf which one meets with in Morning and Evening lands.

No animals were met with, as far as we penetrated on this occasion, except sundry species of birds; but there may be many other animals farther in the interior of the country, as the natives seemed acquainted with pigs when they saw some on board our ships.

The natives prepare their meals in pots made of clay or earth. Each household appeared to us to have its own.

The houses were from forty to sixty feet [*schuh*] long, six to eight feet [*schuh*] in width, and of similar height, set up on wooden stakes, daubed over with luting and covered in with palm leaves. As regards their subsistence it appears that it must be procured by tillage of the soil, as we saw it everywhere planted and bearing crops. Moreover the fields or lands were all measured off with a cord, and very neatly cultivated. At the time of our visit all their crops were maturing: the fields and trees were in full bearing, and I feel sure that if we had explored this country right through many good things would have been met with, since we were there in just the best season of the year.

No remarkable furniture was found inside their houses, except some red and white coverlets [*decken*] which they often use as apparel, and also for sleeping under. These coverlets felt like silk, to the touch, so that one could almost conclude they had looms by means of which they made them themselves.

These natives were universally blithe and merry, well-built, strong in limb, not exactly slender, yet nimble on their feet; friendly and pleasant in manner, but submissive withal, and also very timid. Most of them, when bringing any object such as

[1] *Pisang* is the Malayan generic term for the banana.

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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1774. MARCH. beads, but they always threw them away with contempt, as far as ever they could. Whatever elſe they ſaw about us, they were deſirous of poſſeſſing, though they had nothing to give in return. Their number was now decreaſed nearly to one half, many of them having probably gone home to their dinners; however, the number of women was always remarkably ſmall in proportion to the men, there being not above twelve or fifteen at our firſt landing, and about ſix or ſeven when we embarked again. They were neither reſerved nor chaſte, and for the trifling conſideration of a ſmall piece of cloth, ſome of our ſailors obtained the gratification of their deſires. Their features were mild enough, and the large pointed cap gave them the air of profeſſed wantons.

We returned on board the ſhip before noon, and found it at anchor, though we had left it under ſail. The freſh fruits and roots which we brought on board, were immediately diſtributed as far as they would go, and proved a moſt ſeaſonable refreſhment to our ſick. We taſted the fowls, which ſeemed to have been dreſſed under-ground, by means of hot ſtones being wrapped up in green leaves, in the manner practiſed amongſt all the nations of the South Sea, whom we had hitherto viſited. The potatoes were of a gold-yellow colour, and as ſweet as carrots, therefore not equally palatable to us all; however they were extremely nouriſhing, and very antiſcorbutic. The juices of this,

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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this, and all the other vegetables on this iſland, ſeemed to have been concentrated by the dryneſs of the ſoil. Their bananas were reckoned very delicious in their kind, by thoſe who were fond of this fruit, and their ſugar-canes were ſweeter than any we had taſted at Taheitee. 1774. MARCH. 175 X 262 ●

In the afternoon we returned on ſhore again, and an officer went with another boat to fill water at the well. We found but few natives near the landing-place, and among them was one, who appeared to have ſome little authority, and readily accompanied the captain wherever he went. He was not ſo timorous as the reſt of his countrymen, but walked boldly along with us, whilſt the others were alarmed at the leaſt motion which appeared unuſual to them. This diſpoſition, however, did not prevent them from picking our pockets, or ſtealing any thing which ſuited them. We had not been half an hour on ſhore, when one of them came behind Mahine, and very nimbly ſnatching a black cap from his head, ran off with the greateſt velocity over the heaps of rugged ſtones, where it was impoſſible to follow him. Mahine was ſo ſurpriſed, that it was ſome time before he could find words to complain to the captain; and when he did it, the thief was already at a great diſtance. About the ſame time, as Mr. Hodges was ſitting on a little eminence, and ſketching a view of the country, one of the natives ran off with his hat in the ſame manner. Mr. Wales was ſtanding by him with 175 X 609

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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under way and continued our route along the cliffs on the north shore of the island. At platform No. 29 a pit was excavated in which a collection of human skulls, without any other portion of the remains, was found. Our track this day led us to Anakena Bay, according to tradition the original landing place of King Hotu-Metua, his queen, and followers, from whom the present inhabitants claim their descent. We found at the head of the bay a fine, extensive sand beach, the first we had fallen in with, forming a good landing place for small boats. The breakers and still water in the vicinity were seen swarming with fish of several varieties, of which the natives gave us their names. The sand beaches were thickly strewn with the "Portuguese man-of-war" (*Physalia utriculus*), called by the natives *Papaki*, and which, to the writer's great surprise, they informed him was eaten by them as food. Adherent to the rocks was found the singular, cuirass-covered little creature, called by the natives *kemoma*, one of the *Chitons*, perhaps the *magistificus*, which is also used by them as an article of diet. Thus, also, a small univalve, called by them *ngingongi*, large collections of the shells of which were found stowed away in the walls of the stone huts at the edge of the crater, on Rana Kao, where also was found the remains of the *Chiton*. The sea urchin, *Echinus* (*esculentus?*), in Rapa Nui-*hetuki*, and a diminutive snail, which they call *pipi*, were found at Anakena. All the above form a part of their dietary, and they seemed to speak of and regard them as tidbits.

Sometime was passed at Anakena, exploring its vicinity where, there is every reason to suppose, an extensive town existed, for which the nature of the surface, ascending gradually from the water's edge to high land on either side, with a hill rising between and running back into the interior, forms a most admirable site. The remains of former habitations were found in various directions. At some distance back from the sea on rising ground, in an isolated position, far removed from any platform or image, was found the largest tufa crown we had yet seen and which subsequent investigation proved the largest on the island. It was slightly oval in shape, lay on its side, was buried in the earth to a depth of about 2 feet, and by actual measurement was 27 feet 9 inches in circumference, 9 feet 9 inches in diameter across the long and 9 feet 2 inches across the short oval, and 9 feet high.

Beyond Anakena Bay the walking became especially difficult and laborious at one point, near Ovahe Bay, it was necessary to scale the face of a cliff, at about midway of its height, on a narrow ledge of rock.

Our camp, named "Whitney," for the honorable Secretary of the Navy, was located for this night near Hangaone Bay, about 4 miles from our starting point of the morning, and it was nearly dark when we entered its welcome precincts. Supplies from the ship, brought by the boat, which had been nearly all day reaching Anakena, were carried thence overland and arrived in camp during the evening.

Near our present camping ground we found the best water of any

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In place of plank floors the bare earth is strewn with dried bulrushes and grass to the depth of several inches, and as this litter is rarely renewed, the result is obvious. Occasionally a bunk may be found knocked up at one end of the single apartment of which the house consists, or, as in the more pretentious houses, a square bedstead may be seen, built of planed, unpainted wood, with a wild attempt at scroll carving about the head and foot boards. Chairs and tables are unknown luxuries.

The same house is often occupied by several families, or by several generations of the same family, but as the individuals composing these are never very numerous there is no overcrowding.

A few of the more ordinary cooking utensils may occasionally be seen, but as a rule the natives, as is generally the case among the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, prepare their food in stone ovens in the following manner: A circular excavation is made in the earth outside of the dwelling, several feet in diameter and a foot or two in depth, which is then neatly lined with a porous stone of some sort. Other stones are loosely laid in, and a quantity of dry wood or brush of any kind, with more stones, piled on. The wood is then set on fire, and, when the stones have become sufficiently heated, the loose ones are taken out, and the brands and cinders removed, leaving the lining of heated stones intact. Over these is then spread a layer of banana, breadfruit, or other large leaves to keep the food from contact with ashes. The food, taro, yams, sweet potatoes, fowl, short, or "long pig," or whatever else there may be, previously prepared for cooking, is then placed on the layer of leaves, piece by piece, until all are in position, when the mound of food is carefully covered over with several thicknesses of large green leaves to prevent any dirt from falling in among the edibles. The heated stones, previously removed, are then placed in position all over the mass and finally a thick layer of fine, dry earth, ashes, and cinders is piled over all, these being for the purpose of retaining the heat. In from two to three or four hours the baking is finished, and, barring the "long pig," perhaps, a more healthful and toothsome method of preparing and cooking food, when superintended by an expert native Samoan *chef*, for example, could not, in the estimation of the writer, who has had opportunities for judging, be devised. The thought suggests itself here that the "clambakes" of our Atlantic States are a feeble imitation of this style of cooking among the islanders.

As wood or solid fuel of any kind is a most rare commodity on Rapa Nui the natives are compelled to use brush, twigs, and trash cast up on their island by the sea, anything, in fact, of an inflammable nature which they can pick up. They even economize the dried droppings of the cattle, as the Arab does those of his camel, for this purpose, and I saw great basketfuls of these carefully stowed away in their houses for future use.

They have no fixed time for eating, and while their *menu*, as may be

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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262 inferred from the statements contained in these pages, is never an elaborate one, it may readily be seen that they never suffer for lack of food of some sort, the principal items being sugar cane, taro, and sweet potatoes. Then, too, they are not heavy eaters, and gluttony with its attendant corpulency, so common in some of the other islands, is quite unknown here.

351 There are no fences or inclosures of any sort about their houses, which stand in the open field, with the grass growing to the doors, and nothing of an offensive nature was observable in the vicinity.

POPULATION, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS.

174 It is difficult to obtain accurate information regarding the population
172 of the island prior to the year 1860. That a numerous people must have existed here during the days of the image builders seems to be well attested by the works they have left behind them; the multitudes of colossal stone images and crowns; the numbers and vast size of the platforms on which these stood; the great paved areas beside them, which afforded room for large assemblages; the masses of foundation stones scattered over the island, many of which, still in position, show the strange shapes given to the houses which were erected upon them, and even admitting that these antiquities, and the work of fashioning them, covers a period of many years, the fact remains, nevertheless, that the immense labor involved, aided merely by the rude stone implements, which alone they were known to possess, must have necessitated the employment of a vast number of laborers. These, with their families, those engaged in the cultivation of the soil, in fishing and otherwise providing food, the aged and infirm, and those employed in other pursuits, must have made up an aggregate much larger than would at first sight appear.

With reference to the length of time covered by these works, it would seem, from the large number of images still to be seen on Rana Roraku, both inside the crater and on its outer slope—some finished, others only partly so, and others still in the quarries—that there was a large amount of work in process of execution at the same moment, and that, judging from the condition in which it was found, some sudden calamity must have overtaken the workmen, causing all labor to cease abruptly.

Indeed in respect to the astonishing number of volcanic stones so evenly scattered over the surface of the island, especially on the eastern half, it does not seem reasonable to suppose that they were there when the place was densely populated, of which latter circumstance there can scarcely be a doubt. This remark applies with especial force to the great plain at the foot and to the westward of Rana Roraku, where a large town is supposed to have existed, inhabited in part, it may be presumed, by the great numbers of workmen employed in the quarries of that mountain. Admitting this to be true and associating this with the fact that large numbers of the images seen in this vicinity are in

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of several individuals may be found in one receptacle, and at one of the platforms a collection of skulls alone was discovered in a sepulcher which was opened.

The rats, which by reason of the loose manner of interment have free access to the remains, no doubt perform an important office as scavengers in disposing of the soft parts, since in no single instance were any bones found, either human or sheep—and the skeletons of both were frequently fallen in with—which were not completely denuded, and the fine litter, which was almost invariably found in the cranial cavity, showed where the rodents had been nest-hiding.

The food of the Rapa Nuiis comprises the following principal articles: Sugar cane, taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, fowl, shell and other fish in large quantities, tomatoes, pumpkins, figs, pigs, and rarely sheep and cattle.

Their manner of cultivating the soil is of the simplest description. Owing to the depredations of the numberless sheep and cattle, they are compelled to keep all their cultivated patches carefully inclosed, and as there is no wood on the island which can be applied to that purpose they are forced to use volcanic stones. Occasionally, therefore, one may see a wall about 2 feet thick by 6 or 8 feet high inclosing a plot of ground perhaps 50 feet square, in which will be found a variety of the plants above mentioned growing luxuriantly.

The average Rapa Nuiis, however, perhaps wisely, prefers a fence ready made to building one himself, and therefore selects the standing stone walls of one or more of the old houses, which he appropriates to his purpose. There are many of these scattered over the island, particularly on the eastern half. These require but little repair to put them in order and secure against the entrance of sheep, and, although small, they amply suffice to supply the needs of the native husbandmen. Of course there is no pretense of cultivation; the ground is scratched; the article planted; the rest is intrusted to the care of the omnipotent *atua*.

The soil is rich, and ancient navigators report the island covered with vegetation, and yet one could not repress the feeling of surprise, in view of the present unpromising appearance of the surface and unfavorable surroundings, on seeing how vigorously and luxuriantly everything grew within these inclosures.

LANGUAGE OF THE RAPA NUIIS.

NAMES OF ANIMALS.

Sheep	mamoi.
Horse	hoi.
Cattle	puaka.
Sow	oru tamahine.
Boar	oru tamaroa.
Hen	eufa.
Eel	koiro.
Black sea bass	kodoti.

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The food consisted of the usual tropical products, such as potatoes, bananas, sugar-cane, and taro. Animal diet formed a very small part of it, rats being the only form of mammal; but chickens played an important rôle in native life, and the remains of the dwellings made for them are much more imposing than those for human beings. They are solid cairns, in the centre of which was a chamber, running the greater part of their length; it was entered from outside by two or more narrow tunnels, down which the chickens could pass. They were placed here at night for the sake of safety, as it was impossible to remove the stones in the dark without making a noise (fig. 86). Fish are not very plentiful, as there is no barrier reef, but they also were an article of diet, and were bartered by those on the coast for the vegetable products obtained by those further inland. Fish hooks made of stone were formerly used, and a legend tells of a man who had marvellous success because he used one made of human bone. The heroes of the tales are also spoken of as fishing with nets. There are in various places on the coast round towers, built of stone, which are said to have been look-out towers whence watchers on land communicated the whereabouts of the fish to those at sea; these contained a small chamber below which was used as a sleeping apartment (fig. 87). Turtles appear on the carvings on the rock, and are alluded to in legend, and turtle-shell ornaments were worn; but the water is too cold for them ever to have been common, and Anakena is almost the only sandy bay where they could have come on shore.

The sole form of dress was the cloth made from the paper mulberry, and known throughout the South Seas as tapa; it was used for loin-cloths and wraps, which the Spaniards describe as fastening over one shoulder. Head-gear was a very important point, as witnessed by the way the islanders always stole the caps of the various European sailors. The natives had various forms of crowns made of feathers, some of them reserved for special occasions. Cherished feathers, particularly those of white cocks, were brought out of gourds, where they had been carefully kept, to manufacture specimens for the Expedition. The crowns are generally made to form a shade over the eyes, like the head-dresses of the images. Naturally, every effort was made to find the prototype of the image hats. No one recollected ever seeing anything precisely like it, but among the pictures drawn for us of various head-decorations was a cylindrical hat

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the first canoe landed. It is unique in having a sandy shore, and is surrounded by an amphitheatre of low hills. Behind it to the west rises the high central ground of the island, beyond it, on the other side, is the eastern plain; it thus approximately terminates the strip of land held by the Miru (fig. 97). There are now at Anakena the remains of six ahu, a few statues, and the foundations of various houses. Ngaara held official position for the whole island, but he was neither a leader in war, nor the fount of justice, nor even a priest; he can best be described as the custodian of certain customs and traditions. The act most nearly approaching a religious ceremony was conducted under his auspices, though not by him personally. In time of drought he sent up a younger son and other ariki-paka to a hill-top to pray for rain: they were painted on one side red, on the other black with a stripe down the centre. These prayers were addressed to Hiro, said to be the god of the sky, a supernatural being in whom we seem getting nearer the idea of a divinity, as distinct from a spirit of the dead, and of whom we would gladly have learnt more than could be discovered.

The ariki-paka had other duties besides praying for rain; they made "maru," or strings of white feathers tied on to sticks, which they placed among the yams to make them grow. They buried a certain small fish among the sugar-canes to bring up the plants, and when a koro was being held, and it was consequently particularly desirable that the fowls should thrive, an ariki-paka painted a design in red, known as the "rei-miro," below the door of the chicken-house (fig. 115).

Te Haha, the "social success," who was an ariki-paka in the entourage of Ngaara, gave graphic descriptions of life at Anakena when he was a boy. If, he said, people wanted chickens, they applied to the Ariki-mau, who sent him with maru, and his visits were always attended with satisfactory results.

Ngaara never consumed rats, and one day, coming across the boy watching rats being cooked, he was extremely angry, for it transpired that, if Te Haha had eaten them, his power for producing chickens would have diminished; presumably because he would have imbibed ratty nature, which was disastrous to eggs and young chickens. The Ariki, however, made himself useful to him on occasion. The younger Miru had long hair reaching to his heels, and one day, when he was asleep in a cave, some one cut it

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it with open beak, from which a series of lines spreads out fan-wise, obviously representing the volume of sound; names in imitation of these sounds were given to children, such as "Piruru," "Wero-wero," "Ka-ara-ara." It is worth noting that the coming of the tara inaugurates the deep-sea fishing season; till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were considered poisonous. The birds on first alighting tarried only a short time; immediately on their departure the hopu rushed out to find the egg, or, according to another account, the rushing out of the hopu frightened away the birds. The gods intervened in the hunt, so that the man who was not destined to win went past the egg even when it lay right in his path. The first finder rushed up to the highest point of the islet, calling to his employer by his new name, "Shave your head, you have got the egg." The cry was taken up by the watchers in the cave on the mainland, and the fortunate victor, beside himself with joy, proceeded to shave his head and paint it red, while the losers showed their grief by cutting themselves with mataa.

The defeated hopu started at once to swim from the island to the shore, while the winner, who was obliged to fast while the egg was in his possession, put it in a little basket, and, going down to the landing-rock, dipped it into the sea. One meaning of the word hopu is "wash." He then tied the basket round his forehead and was able to swim quickly, as the gods were with him. At this stage sometimes accidents occurred, for if the sea was rough, an unlucky swimmer might be dashed on the rocks and killed. In one instance, it was said, only one man escaped with his life, owing, as he reported, to his having been warned by Maké-maké not to make the attempt. When the hopu arrived on the mainland, he handed over the egg to his employer, and a tangata-rongo-rongo tied round the arm which had taken it a fragment of red tapa and also a piece of the tree known as "ngau-ngau," reciting meanwhile the appropriate words. The finding was announced by a fire being lit on the landward side of the summit of Rano Kao on one of two sites, according to whether the Ao came from the west or east side of the island.

It will be remembered that on the rocks which terminate the settlement of Orongo the most numerous of the carvings is the figure of a man with the head of a bird; it is in a crouching

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return they laid plentifully, and, as soon as the nestlings were hatched, the men of the celebrating clan carried them to the mainland, swimming with them in baskets bound round the forehead after the manner of the first egg. They were then taken in procession round the island, or, according to another account, only as far as Orohié. It was not until the piu had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the eggs, and they were then consumed by the subservient clans only, not by the Ao. The first two or three eggs, it was explained, were "given to God"; to eat them would prove fatal. Some of the young manu tara were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied round the wing and leg, and they were told, "Kaho ki te hiva," "Go to the world outside." There was no objection to eating the young birds. The tara departed from Motu Nui about March, but a few stragglers remained; we saw one bird and obtained eggs at the beginning of July, but the natives failed to get any for us in August. When in the following spring the new bird-man had achieved his egg, he brought it to Orohié and was given the old one, which he buried in a gourd in a cranny of Rano Raraku; sometimes, however, it was thrown into the sea, or kept and buried with its original owner. The new man then took the place of his predecessor, who returned to ordinary life.

The last year that the Ao went to Orongo, which is known as "Rokunga," appears to have been 1866 or 1867. The names of twelve subsequent years are given, during which the competition for the egg continued, and it was still taken to be interred at Raraku. The cult thus survived in a mutilated form the conversion of the island to Christianity, which was completed in 1868; it is said that once the missionaries saw the Ao dancing with the egg outside their door in Hanga Roa and "told the people it was the Devil." It must have been celebrated even after the assembly of the remains of the clans into one place, which occurred about the same time, but it was finally crushed by the secular exploiters of the island, whose house at Mataveri, that of the present manager, rests on the foundation-stones of the cannibal habitation (fig. 25). The cult admittedly degenerated in later years. A new practice arose of having more than one bird-man, with other innovations. The request to be given the names of as many bird-years as could be remembered